563 582 /59 cont./ Many young colonists return to the homeland in order to marry. According to the figures I obtained, the percentage of marriages contracted between non-kinsmen among the colonists is only a little higher than in Bontoramba. A small number of marriages was contracted with Buginese. For those who live far away from home for a long period, marriage with neighborhood associates seems tempting.

563 583 In addition the small percentage of silariang marriages is striking. Without closer investigation, it is impossible to indicate a reason for this. "The Buginese marry more easily than we do"; "they do not find silariang so important"; Buginese ideas were formulated and compared with their own notions on this point in this way. It may well be that the small percentage of silariang marriages is a reflection of the fact that the Makassarese have in part accepted these Buginese ideas.

342 563 184 The houses of these colonists are smaller and stand on lower posts than those of their Buginese fellow kampong residents; the walls are frequently made of atap, while the Buginese have wooden or bamboo walls. On the whole, therefore, their dwellings make a poor impression compared with those of the Buginese as well as with those of their kinsmen back home. The average number of occupants in one house is just a little lower than that in Bontoramba.

186 563 Just as for the Buginese in Makassarese country, the common language constitutes a unifying element for these colonists.

621 The tie with the group of relatives in the homeland is strong. Marriages with the new neighborhood associates are rare. The worship /60/ /61/ community is extremely weak, since all remain members of the worship community back home. Common residence and work in the same territory creates ties between its residents. The tie to the land is weak. The indigenous residents have control of the land. In individual cases a newcomer was able to obtain a piece of land,

537 /119 cont./
539 Listen to the mountain, the Bawakaraeng,
643 the never-loosening anchor,
such am I, too,
and only he who can be trusted in this way,
can truly be trusted.
If the Royal Council removes to the west,
then I will also go to the west;
if it removes to the east,
I will also go to the east. /120/
But if the Royal Council resides
with you, my Prince, in the ancestral gathering hall, then I will remain below (1).

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1. That is to say, I will not take part in the conference; I follow. Makassarese dwellings are built on posts. If the prince confers with his Royal Council, the lower people wait under the house and listen in.

Opposition

571 Fairchild's definition of the concept "opposition" gives a good picture of conditions in South Celebes. He defines it by: "resistance to or efforts to prevent or offset the efforts or ideas of another person or group, not necessarily accompanied by attitudes of anger or purpose to destroy or injure the opponent" (2) /cited in English/. This term will be used here.

2. H.P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, New York, 1944.

1:Chabot--243 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

/177 cont./
Water Sprinkling (appasili)

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Appasili (1) is the name of the ritual in which water is

1. See B.F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 597.

sprinkled over the object of the ritual, a thing or a person, by means of a number of leafy twigs which have been tied together. It is done at various moments of the wedding festival. Thus, water is sprinkled on the vessels that will be used during the festive meals and during the /178/ setting up of the chief pole of the pannjambungi (1). It occurs also at preparations that

●[342]

1. The pannjambungi is the extension which is built onto the front part of the actual house on the occasion of a wedding festival. During this time it serves as the men's quarters and as a place where the male guests are received. At such a time the house proper, including the front room (kale balla'), is reserved for the women. I hope to be able to describe this part of the house in greater detail later. W.H. Rassers has already repeatedly pointed out the great interest attaching to this part, the last time in his study, "Inleiding tot de bestudeering van de Javaansche kris /Introduction to a Study of the Javanese Kris/," Mededeeling der Kon/inklijke/ Ned/erlandsche/ Akad/emie/

[114]

1:Chabot--244 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

585 /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen,
788 Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde,
[114] N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/
/New Series/, Vol. I,
no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 The person who performs this ritual is frequently the
[593] "bride's mother," (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

[602 838] 2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven
824 different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but some-
[901] times variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

585 1. These names are rapidly
824 recited, one after the other,
789 when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

585 /193 cont./ comment. But if he hesitates or turns away, he is urged to accept the food. For, ultimately, the older people like nothing better than to see him lose, and it is believed that he loses if he does what his wife demands of him, namely when he accepts food from her.

The First Joint Bath

Again a few days later the couple is bathed together for the first time. Here, too, ritual and play are of more importance than the fact of the bathing itself. Together, the couple sit -- the woman wrapped entirely in a sarong -- on the house steps, which in daily life forms the link with the attic but which for this special occasion has been placed on the floor in the pannjambungi (1). Under the rungs of the ladder lies a cleaver

[342]
[251]
[769]
[417]

1. The attic is an important place in the house. There the rice is kept. In case of shortage of living quarters, the young girls are sometimes housed there. The ancestors descend through it when they are implored to do so in a ritual manner. The ladder to the attic has a special form. The two uprights proceed from a single branch that rests on the floor and which splits into two, approximately 40 centimeters above the floor.

as well as one of the sections of the loom, objects which man and wife respectively always need in performing their daily activities. According to informants, /194/ the significance of this is to further the wish that man and wife will now also

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Landscape in Goa. Sawahs and groves alternate. Page 19.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

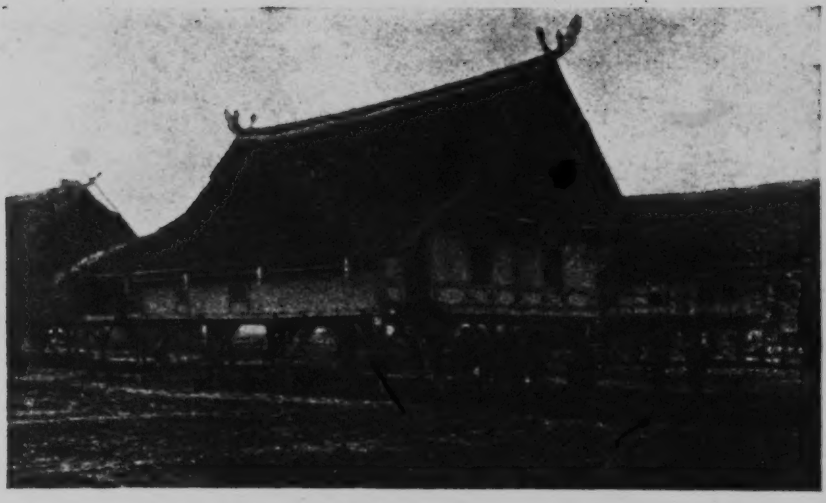
241
291

During the harvest; a group of women. Page 199.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 1]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

●342



Makassarese houses.
(Photographic Archives Ind. Institute.)

[291
117]

Makassarese houses.
(Photographic Archives Ind. Institute.)

[end plate 2]

1:Alkema & Bezemer--447 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Batak OD5 Toradja OG11
Sumatra OD1 Flores OF9
Makassar OG6 Nias OD11
Atjehnese OD4 Bahau OC5
Moluccas OH1 Borneo OC1

I 342 N F T 342 [399 cont.] among the Toradja now, six small families; on western Flores there is one kampong, Tjeremba, which actually consists of only one dwelling that houses about 60 small families, or nearly 200 persons. On Nias, too, a number of small families are housed in one dwelling.

Bh 342 This living together in one house, however, is not to be viewed as everyone living higgledy-piggledy with everyone else. Among the Kajan-Dajaks [Kayan-Dyak], for instance, where the greatest number of persons live under one roof, the front part of such a long clan [stam] house, which at the same time forms a village, is a communal veranda for the household activities of all the inhabitants, for gatherings, etc. The rear part of the house, however, which is separated from the front veranda by a wall with doors, is divided into rooms for the small families [gezins]. One could imagine it as a village with the houses built consecutively under one roof, with the village street, covered by the same roof, running in front of it.

All the so-called family houses are partitioned in much the same way: [400] a communal part, either as a front veranda, a side or interior passage, or interior room; and the rooms for Bt [342] the small families. Only among the Toba-Batak is there no actual partitioning of the space by means of a wall or curtains; there are just the four corners of the room, intended respectively for the head of the house and his immediate family, the married daughter, the married son, etc.

The adult youths, and frequently guests, sleep in the communal part of the large family-houses.

Ml MK A S Br ● 342 As has already been said, the houses of the various peoples of the archipelago differ primarily in the form of the roof. The simplest form of roof consists of two slanting pieces and two vertical pieces, which are more or less a continuation of the side walls. Such roofs are found on the long houses of the Dajak [Dyak], among the inhabitants of southern and eastern Sumatra, on Atjeh, among the Buginese and Makassarese, and on most of the islands of the Moluccas. It is the most obvious form of roof, merely serving to drain off the rainwater and having no architectural goals.

Malays AN5
Makassar OG6
Javanese OE5
Tenggerese OE8
Mentawi OD9

OB1 Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1
Batak OD5
Gorontolo OG4
Moluccas OH1
New Guinea OJ1

I Br 342 621 162 [66 cont.] average a man, woman, and two children, thus 600 persons, all belonging to one family [familie] (1). Not only among the

1. Bijdragen T.L. en Vk. v. Ned. Indië, 4th series, 5th part, p. 305. Perelaer, Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks, p. 128.

MO NG MI G Bt 342 621 591 Dajak, but also among the other uncivilized tribes one finds a number of family units living together in one great house, for example, among the Batak, the Alfoer of north Celebes (2), in

2. Riedel, Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vk., Vol. XVIII, pp. 486 and 493.

T J MK I 342 621 174 591 the Moluccas, among the Papuans, and even among the so much more highly developed Malays on central Sumatra (3). One can

3. Verkerk Pistorius, op. cit., p. 40.

state that this way of living was formerly common. Among some peoples this situation has already given way to another in which each dwelling is the residence of only one family unit and consequently the houses are smaller, as among the Javanese, Makassarese, Buginess, and others. On Java, too, however, a number of family units undoubtedly lived together in a single dwelling. As evidence for this, the living together custom is still found among the pagans of the Tengger Mountains.

Bt T Mt MI Br I 342 As we have noted, the houses are very large. Two types can be distinguished: in the first place, the houses that are built lengthways, and, secondly, those that have been built sideways. Generally, however, they have the first form and are very long, but comparatively narrow. Among the Dajak, they may be 250 ells long, but only 20 to 30 ells wide. Boyle saw a house that was 1,000 feet (380 ells) long. This is also found

B [69 cont.]
342 Near the entryway there is the tugu, a stone niche for offerings,
782 in which the morning and evening offerings are deposited (1).

1. Jacobs, Eenigen tijd onder de Baliëre [Some Time among the Balinese], p. 87.

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J
B Thus we see that among the Balinese, although the family
591 still lives together communally, each household has its own resi-
342 dence. Among the Javanese, Makassarese, and Buginese we find houses inhabited by only one household unit [gezin], and all the members of the same family [familie] no longer live together. Also, their houses no longer stand on piles, but simply on the ground. We can distinguish two types of houses built on the ground, windowless huts and houses with windows. Those of the
J Javanese usually belong among the former. They show great
342 variety in form and layout, as is shown by the division made by
352 Mr. Poensen, who gives five different shapes. The omah grija
353 limas with a very high roof running up to a ridge is typical and very popular. (2)

2. Poensen, "Iets over de woning der Javanen [Some remarks on the dwelling of the Javanese]," Med. v. w. h. Ned. Zend. Gen., Vol. XIX, p. 120 ff.

[70] As a rule, the interior of the house is divided into six rooms. The middle one of the three that border on the right wall is called boma[2] (a) and is the room in which a couch stands. This room is sometimes used as a sleeping room, but customarily it serves as a ceremonial room which is used for weddings. During the festivities on such occasions, the young couple sits there, surrounded by female guests, and members of the family. The other two rooms, b and c, on the right wall (sĕptong and sarong)

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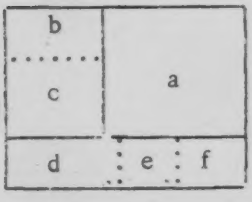
[585]



J [75 cont.]
344 curtains, betel boxes, and other household goods are, of course,
352 much more costly and more abundant than in the dwelling of the poor farmer. The regent's dwelling, as we have noted, lies on the alun-alun, with the pandapa in front of it (2).

2. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 600.

Materials

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335 As far as possible, the most durable kinds of wood are
342 chosen for the piles of the dwellings. Sometimes the piles are of considerable [76] thickness. Durable wood is also used for the beams and uprights (1).

1. Cf. for Java, Meded. Ned. Zend. Gen., Vol. XIX, p. 123 ff.

The walling is sometimes of boards, but usually of bamboo that is split and then flattened and plaited, wattle as it were,
MI called sasak. Tree bark is also used. In the Molúccas, the leaf
335 stems of the sago palm, gaba-gaba, or nipa leaves are often used. As partitions to divide the interior of the dwelling, planks are rarely used, but more often bamboo, tree bark, or matting; the compartments are often separated from one another only by a curtain of white or colored cotton cloth. The floors, too, are rarely made of boards. Laths of bamboo, nibong, banana, or
S palm woods are commonly used for them. A well-made bamboo
B floor has the advantage of being flexible and pliable, hence easy
MK to walk on with bare feet and comfortable for sleeping.
J
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335 The roof covering, or everything that serves as roofing,
342 is called atap, Jav. atĕp, Mak. atá, Bat. tarup. Atap is made from various materials; the most common is of palm leaves. Two kinds of palm in particular are used for this, the sago palm

Borneo OC1
Sumatra OD1
Redjang-Lampong OD12

Sundanese OE7
Batak OD5
Makassar OG6
Javanese OE5
Moluccos OH1

Sn Bt MK I J 335 342 [76 cont.] (rumbia or Sundanese kirai) and the nipa palm. This is the way atap is made. The leaves of the sago or nipa palm consist of a leaf stem and sword-shaped leaves that commonly are as wide as a hand and about as long as an ell. These sword-shaped leaves, while green, are laid next to one another in such a way that half of one leaf overlaps half of the next one. The leaves are then folded in two around a bamboo lath from one and a half to two meters long and are fastened with split rattan. Such an atap is one and a half to two meters long and 34 centimeters wide. Besides palm leaves, atap is also made from alang-alang, or, as it is sometimes called, ilalang, a stiff grass three to four feet high. A very good roof-covering, used especially on Sumatra, Sm Ml 335 342 is the idjuk, Ja. ĕduk, in the Moluccas gemutu, the black, horsehair-like fibers of the trunk of the areng palm. These fibers form whole pieces [77] which can simply be laid on the roof to a thickness of 10 to 15 centimeters. A roof covering of idjuk is not only extraordinarily durable, but also very handsome. It withstands the heat of the sun and moisture for 40 years, whereas a roof of alang-alang at most lasts for 15 to 20 years.

Br I 335 342 Another roof covering is made with the so-called sirappen, tiles made of rectangular, four-cornered boards with a point on the under end. Often, tree bark is used, especially among the Dajak (1) [Ed., no footnote is given]. The Government often uses this roof covering and has the sirappen made from teakwood or kaju bĕsi, ironwood. They are laid more or less like slates. Rt

Sn J I 335 342 341 Finally, there is a roof covering of bamboo. As is known, bamboo has the shape of a tube; this is split through the middle longways, and a layer of these half-cylinders is laid on the roof with the hollow side up. A second layer is put over them with the convex side up, so that the cracks between the bamboo of the lower layer are covered. This kind of roof covering lasts two to three years. The slope of the roof, as a rule very steep, can be slight with such roofing. This roof covering is called talahab and is used particularly in the mountainous areas

Javanese OE5
Sundanese OE7
Redjang-Lampong OD12
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6

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[77 cont.] of Java where heavy rains fall. It is also sometimes used in the Sundanese lands and in the Redjang districts on Sumatra, where it is called atok pakul.

g. Decoration of the Houses

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Among most of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago, the houses are built without any decoration. In general the large, windowless houses have a very unpleasant appearance. Through lack of upkeep they soon look dilapidated, especially when inferior materials, such as bamboo and tree bark, are used for construction. More work in the way of ornamentation is put on the exterior of the houses in only a few areas. This is the case, for example, on central Sumatra. The houses here are often [78] artistically decorated with carving, especially on the piles, uprights, and beams, as well as on the doors and the little windows, which are rarely lacking. Often these carved figures are painted in all kinds of colors, red, white, black, and blue, and small glittering mirrors are put here and there on the exterior walls. The edges of the roof, too, are often decorated with strips of beaten tin plate, and the tanduk (roof tips) are also covered with tin plate. A Malayan house so decorated often has a gay appearance (1).

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1. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving en Taal, Vol. II, p. 153.

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On Java, too, there are some decorated houses. This is the case especially among the well-to-do. In Koedoe, the capital of the regency of the same name in the Japara Residency, the houses generally excel in graceful carvings. The uprights of the pandåpå of chiefs' dwellings usually bear carvings that are never painted and only rarely gilded. It must also be noted

MK
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Makassar OG6
Gorontolo OG4
Java OE1
Sumatra OD1
New Guinea OJ1

MK 342 531 [78 cont.] that the houses of the well-to-do among the Makassarese are often built with wood of various colors, and they are assembled so artistically that the walls seem to be inlaid.

G 342 356 531 Among the Minahasa, at least the Christian population, it is customary to whitewash the houses with a kind of pipe-clay, and, by mixing this with other materials, to make a blue color that is applied to window-frames, posts, and shutters.

All this is exceptional, however.

G 353 356 372 The interior of the dwelling likewise does not excel in decorativeness. The interior is usually blackened by smoke because cooking is customarily done inside the house. Since there are no chimneys, the smoke stays in the air as long as it cannot escape through doors or cracks and covers everything with a black layer. There is, of course, no lack of vermin in the dwellings.

G S U I 343 We have now discussed the dwellings, but we must not fail to mention a small building [79] often found near the dwelling, the rice granary. As a rule it has the shape of a truncated quadrilateral pyramid standing upside down. On Java it is called lumbung, on Sumatra rangkiang. Where granaries are not built, rice is stored in the dwelling. The Alfoer of the Minahasa, for example, use large barrels made of tree bark, called sangkor, for this purpose, which hold up to 100 gantang.

g. Household Equipment

I NG 352 513 285 The household equipment found in a native dwelling is not usually very significant. In general it is difficult to name any typical objects because of the differences among the various peoples.

The sleeping place is generally a couch of bamboo raised slightly off the floor. It is covered with one or more mats, tikar, with which is used a couple of pillows, stuffed with kapok or often with rice-straw (1) or dry leaves; the latter is used only

000 many small kampongs (mostly Makassarese, though we later found Buginese mixed in too).

M ●342 In these Makassarese kampongs typical houses have cross piece thatch clamps sticking out over the ridge pole. Crossed horns and sometimes bird heads are noted sticking out in front at the tip of the front gable on some houses. A number of these houses are very neat, others, sloppy.

S 797 791 177 . Malino is much like Baguio. It also has a market place. I started at once with van der Veen. He showed me a Bible and said that he uses Puang Matoa, the old Sadang name for a deity, for God. He said there was much fuss about this in the Bible society, but he keeps it as it has already been used for a long time by the missionaries.

I met van der Veen's three assistants who are Christian Sadang. One of them is a son of one of the wives of Puang Sangalla. The latter is his stepfather. This fellow is modern and not well disposed toward the latter and to aristocratic ways. In fact, he is quite radical having little if any belief in the mana of the puang. However, the house boy, also a Sadang, is quite full of old beliefs. But he is evidently a Christian. Van der Veen says that those who followed the new religion or who are new Christians are generally quite far off from the old death beliefs and other parts of the old religion, but they still fear the magic power of the puang. Thus perhaps religion goes faster than the deep mana feeling of the people here. They speak Dutch, but better Malay.

S 565 162 554 They named men for me to see in the Sadang country. Van der Veen said there are three puang who rule the Sadang. There are only tomakaka in Rongkong. He said that the tomakaka also exert a great deal of influence and that this influence is less than that of the puang. The latter is the sun, and the allo [sun] symbol is always in evidence. This is the sun "parasol". It is especially common on the wrappings of the dead puang. I saw beautiful photographs of these.

S 567 Van der Veen said that the puang and tomakaka make up about ten percent of the population. The Sadang slaves, as I remember, make up about thirty percent, and the commoners sixty percent of the population. Maybe the slaves make up twenty percent and the commoners seventy percent. There are still slaves although the government "stopped" the practice. This is well known, and they are attached to the uppers. They are allowed to have much, however, and their masters often help them a lot. Van der Veen said that it was his impression that they differed in appearance, although he doubted this because Mrs. Keers, a biologist from a Javanese

124 Levij of the Voorlichtings Ministerie (Kementerian Penerangan Indonesia Timoer) [Ministry of Information for the State of East Indonesia] offered to do this providing I would pay the expenses, using his office staff. I went with
361 Rahim and van Heekeren to Balombaru this morning.
491 Balombaru is in the adatgemeenschap [native community] Karawisi, in which there are perhaps six other kampongs (check). To get to Balombaru we went out [south] on the Goa road for about six kilometers, then turned right on a side road, and finally again on a dirt road. As the limits of the municipality are reached the road at once appears to be full of holes; and in the dry monsoon period there is terrible dust. We were stopped by a police cordon and later found out that the reason was that they expected to have a meeting of the police school (I think) in the afternoon and wanted to keep cars out so that there would be less dust! We went by a side route, and first stopped at a stucco house with an office which belonged to the district head, the Karaeng. He is an important man in Goa. He was not in. His assistant im-
363 pressed me by his poise and by his quiet manner. We went on, and got to the village [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] itself, going around a plaza, a dusty kind of turnabout with the entering road coming in at right angles to the "main street" of the kampong. Rahim said that there were side streets too. It appeared that most of the houses were located along the roads. I will see. We stopped (before this, and outside the kampong proper) at the house of the Imam, near the mosque (I must check the name of the main kampong where the Karaeng and
342 the Imam and the mosque are located). The Imam lives in a very nice Makassar type house. We went upstairs to the main room, which was large, and in which there was a bed with a klambu [mosquito net]. There seemed to be several other rooms in the rear. The floor was of wide planks not placed too close together so that the air could come up into the room. The house itself was of wood with atap thatch [i.e., of palm leaves or the like]. The Imam said he had seven chil-
156 dren. He married in 1929 in Mecca, and seemed very proud
562 of this. He brought it in at the very first chance. He is a
576 small, quite handsome man, perhaps forty years old. His wife is pretty, has gold teeth, and looked as if she were dressed in Javanese style. She is evidently modern in a sense, as she came right up to us, and shook our hands. Rahim said this was not the old style, as ordinarily women would stay behind. She also broke into the conversation from time to time. However, she did sit at another table, listening. We sat at a table in the middle of

361 Finally, we left, and went to the center of Balombaru.
346 Then we went off on a side road, well away from the main kampong, where the karaeng, imam and the mosque are located. The road is dusty and bumpy. Upon arrival there we went to Rahim's house. He pointed out his mother who seemed to be a rather old woman, but who was nursing a child, I thought. In front of the house, which was not too good, was a Koran school which consisted merely of a covered place with a platform and a few benches. Here were about three small boys sitting around. It is almost a part of the house and seemed to me to show the tendency to crowd things together. No teacher was present so far as I could see, but there was one small boy, perhaps nine years old, who had a Koran open and was looking at it. We went into the small
576 front yard of the house and out came Rahim's father. He was
593 an old fellow, very self-possessed, and I found out later that he is a thatcher. There were nipa bundles and thatch layers all around. I noticed that Rahim paid practically no attention to his mother. He talked apparently without any emotion or formality to his father, and with no show of pleasure. I wonder if this is normal (Rahim is a Mohammedan).

123 Then we went to the house of one of the kampong elders
342 after Rahim had explained to his father what I was doing. This
352 elder's house was in pretty good condition, with a sitting room
177 under the main part, that is, in the fenced underpart which is evidently not usually used for living. All of these houses have stairs leading to the main part of the house. And in most cases there are a few boards over an open gutter in front. As we talked I noted a girl next door pounding rice. We sat down
123 after the old man came in, around a table using chairs just as
291 in a European house. The old man was dressed in a European
177 style shirt. All these older people seemed to wear a type of plaited songkok [a cap or hat, especially of a type worn by Moslems], while the younger folks wore felt ones. This
000 fellow was very dignified. Then two others came in. One was evidently a storekeeper, the other one I am not sure. They were a bit more giggly, but not markedly so. The old man was very impressive. Rahim gave a long recital, again including the Malino story. One of the wives was very amused by it and he went over it again. Nothing was served here. I
203 found out about the administrative structure of the village as
666 above. I also found out about elections. Rahim said that when
624 elections were held, or there was another important matter
596 to be discussed, a drum is beaten to call all the men to a meeting. The karaeng stands there but says nothing. Beside

Makassar OG6
Chinese

563 I then asked whether there were other stores in the kampong. He said there were several, mostly belonging to Chinese. Rahim said the Chinese live in a few houses along one street. He pointed them out saying that the Chinese, or at least some of them, had been there for a long time and speak Makassarese well. But, though they marry Makassarese girls, the children of such marriages never do, but instead follow their fathers' line. Evidently they marry Chinese. Thus it appeared that the Chinese breed mates for their own folk by first mating or marrying with local girls. Rahim added that although Chinese men married Makassarese girls, Makassarese men never married Chinese girls. This is understandable, as there are no Chinese girls until the second generation. Then they are considered Chinese and marry Chinese. I must ask about the feeling toward the Chinese on various points. Rahim went to this kampong school, and then to an intermediate school in Makassar, and then, I suppose, to a higher school.

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123 As we left the store the lads asked if I would take them to
512 the mosque in my jeep. The old man especially said that it
562 was a long walk for him. Indeed it was so. In fact, I wondered if he would have done it if there had been no jeep. Four of them, including Rahim's father, piled in, and I took them to the mosque. This is Friday, and many people were walking in that direction. Rahim said that it was taboo for women, and there were no women going.

346 The mosque was quite a fine one, white, with (amazing!) an
177 old cremation urn at the top of one tower. Van Heekeren said this was usual. These urns were imported from China four to five hundred years ago, and were evidently used for ashes in Hindu days. But it is remarkable to me that one should be on top of a mosque!

285 I saw some very fine baskets in a store. One was varicolored with a round top which had words plaited in around the border. Perhaps I will buy it later.

● 342 Thus went the first day or at least the first morning. I will leave things alone for a while. And on Monday I will meet my assistant. My general impression of the houses in the kampong is one of a mixture. The good houses are built mainly of wood and thatch, but there are several of these which are poor and are falling down. Van Heekeren said that bamboo is scarce, hence the use of wood. And maybe that accounts for the lack of good repair in some cases. The people are pleasant and polite, I have been pleasantly impressed. I see very few women around here and wonder where they are. One sees many more in Java. And those one does see here, though often very fine, are not generally so handsome as the Javanese or Sundanese.

noticeable in the Kepala kampong's house. Here everything had an official air about it. He is perhaps a good man to get to know better, to see to what extent he would get the United States idea. For example, how would the Truman story go over with him? We talked stiffly (was it my fault?) and the whole thing was not too impressive. (I later found out that he is a Dutch speaker too) He spoke only Malay. I wonder if the presence of Rahim, obviously a superior in essentials, might have thrown him off? I have plenty to talk about to Rahim. M 156 609

I saw for the first time the ramp [instead of stairs, a noble has a sloping ramp made of woven bamboo--Analyst] of the superiors. The Kepala kampong had one. Note, however, that the Imam had none. All through Makassarese and Buginese lands there are many such ramps. I almost fell down the one at the Kepala kampong's place. I might ask him why he keeps such a thing when steps are so much better. M 565 342 554

At the Karaeng's place I found out what the name for sociology in Indonesian is. Rahim tried very hard, and finally said "ilmu bangsa-bangsa". I 192

I asked Rahim about the Karaeng. He said that they went to school together and played football, [i.e., soccer] but as they grew older this intimate relationship was not continued. Now they must observe the adat. My guess is that the Karaeng knows now that Rahim is a better man. One thing Rahim said quite often was that they were quite proud of him in this area because he has gone so far. That in itself is a very interesting thing, and perhaps this fellow is almost the most important in South Celebes. M 156 554

I went back to the Karaeng's office at noon. I will give copies of my questions to the Karaeng as well as to the Kepala kampong. Rahim said that the Karaeng was ana tino [i.e., the pure children of the highest Makassarese nobles--Analyst] as I remember it. He is not one of the bate selapang [i.e., the nine electors of Goa--Analyst] as I first thought. M 124 565

The assistant will get to work Thursday, and I will return here August 28th to work with him. M 124

Field trip to the Makale region [Sadang country]: I started Wednesday, August 17th, from Makassar. The road north to Parepare is very good. The Buginese villages are much the same in appearance as the Makassarese ones. In Parepare, which is a big place and about half way to Makale, the plaza was filled with people and there was a parade going on. There were some men marching, but most of the participants were M 541 533 177

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).
The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
361 less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the dis-
tance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west
coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land
between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country.
There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast
and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of
142 Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which
is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of
people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I
noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo
belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and
the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts
224 were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
342 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
181 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A
thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law]
stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with
great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and
lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
124 and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggra-
han, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-
night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous
nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some
and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de
Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see
him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There
[262] I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a
talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high
class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that Andi could also work for me. Thus it goes. The Kepala kampong is a fat fellow with a yellow turban. He is called "Mado" which is the Buginese term for Kepala kampong, or rather, Mado Bukaka. His house is not bad, with a ramp on the side structure, but stairs going up into the main part of it. He is no noble, nor are there any bangsawan [titled nobles] in the village. When Sulewatang Udjung ordered, he called together the kali, guru [teachers], and notables (the Sulewatang later told me that family heads are also important). They are a motley crew. They came in and sat around on chairs. The Sulewatang, Andi, the magistrates, and I sat around a table. Coffee and cookies were served. They all listened well and the guru, a good looking young man, seemed especially intelligent. The Sulewatang gave an opening address and I joined in with more and more comments regarding the United States and the need for knowledge of South Celebes. They were quite silent, but one or two nodded and smiled continuously. I got the idea that they will do what they are told. They too were fascinated by my camera. Also, as usual, they plaintively asked (as asked by the Sulewatang) why things are so expensive and hard to get in Celebes, when there is obviously so much of everything in the United States. They are greatly interested in this matter. I tried to explain the fact that the dollar is high and the rupiah low, and also about the foreign exchange currency control. They got the main point. We then went over my notes (I had gone over the Friedericy notes with the Sulewatang the night before). They got the idea and it seems that they want to appear as both modern and as good Mohammedans, as they always shied away at questions regarding such things as spirit belief, old type feasts, and offerings. This was especially true of the Sulewatang, who always said that formerly such and such a practice may have been observed here and perhaps at present is still observed in the mountains, but in this place and at the present time it does not exist. I was told that such practices were mere legends now, but they admitted that in most cases the people still knew about them.

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The next day I talked with the controleur. He showed me the perkara [legal case] records of the office here. In Wadjo, Bone and Soppeng combined there are over one thousand legal cases per year. Many of these pertain to horse and cattle stealing, which is an old custom here. I saw one decision: six months in jail.

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

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342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying "Toekang Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a space underneath the house. The house is set along the road on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood, topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
198 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not
764 pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the
513 two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always removed. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in each house.

272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and census of the village by houses.

632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs
625 proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate.
102 The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong. Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police, two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi (which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are five kepala kampongs under the karaeng. These in order of size are: Djongaya with five kampongs, Karawisi (proper) with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs, Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kampongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all, under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they said, were ranked according to the size of their respective kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]
368 There are three mosques in parasangan Karawisi. There is a big one in Djongaya, and two others respectively in

567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one family. They said that they had a very small house and were very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true
161 fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants
592 whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small houses have many more. The population has risen some despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with the United States.

167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many places, especially to Banjermasin to work in connection with rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk about it, but they have no money so they have to remain. When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in. I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies. They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world, but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and
207 Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar, and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampong brings the mail to the kampong of Balombaru. And if he doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay. There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst] put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

House status marks: little is known about the rules concerned with the number of piles, but much is known about the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written in Friederícy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew most of the names and events in the legends of origin, including the details regarding seven ore or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose. 342 114 554 565 773 591

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the pakarena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices came in. For example, one of the men said that they were having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting? 177 535 527 574

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna. 186 173

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there. 778

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing. 197

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day. 241 262

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 273 689 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone preferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horsemeat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 411 857 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (formerly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a [541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 342 764 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old

513 682 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 291 411 565 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.

304 881 842 574 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls' ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and water pipes. But in general, things are not too different from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing, however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.
178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.
[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid changes in American material culture in the past fifty years they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323 462] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion
262 when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that now there was much butter used by the commoners and this was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they
241 cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco, Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Frequently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average is easily ten per house.

292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts.

●342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
271 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouth-wash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is tasteless.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
[292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
567 [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned, others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

and where they have come from. For example, they tell people that they were nobles where they came from. Here is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes. 565 567 178

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or a woman who married or had something to do with a man of lower status. 696 681 567 626 [684 588]

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. The social classes are set. 557 565 556

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it would be better to say that there is some. There are many cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes, terms of address, and manners. 554 531

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present. As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the "real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the 178 554 342 565 531

554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampong wears one. However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it. In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles. Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some.
181 Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem to be alternates of all sorts. They call me pa'ika tuan, as I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone. (This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Makassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was formerly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when approaching their superiors or when passing them. They squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with them. They wait until they are asked a question. And every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the Kepala kampong meets me or says goodbye he holds our right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very best place. The Kapala kampong and other common guests sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked the Kepala kampong who was waiting in the car to come onto the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

office and even to Batavia. The trouble with Wadjo is that many letters there are left unanswered because friends of the corrupt administration are involved. But the controleur is catching them, as he gets copies in the office at Watumpone and then goes to Wadjo and asks why no answer. This is evidently the reason, or one of them, that the Wadjo folk are ready to revolt against the radja and the government. The letters are written by letter writers, who charge a fee to write them in most kampongs. M 695 661 668 212

In regard to Wadjo and Soppeng, Denzo said that the latter is pretty good and that the radja sees this is an overgangstijd [transitional period], as does his administration. Thus the situation is not so bad. But he agrees that Wadjo is awful.

Incidental: I see from the Sadang notes that the swing [During the period of rice ripening, swings are made of ratan, rope, and buffalo hide. The swings are attached to the branch of a tree. In some areas (Kesu, Sadang, and Balusu) boys and girls swing together. Swinging is done to promote the growth of the grains of rice. In some parts of the Sadang area (e.g., Rimbon), the swinging is done by women who also sing a song of gratitude for a good harvest. This custom apparently survives principally as a children's game. All references to swinging will be found in category 524. --Analyst] is used during the entire period of rice planting or rice ripening. S 524 243

I noted that the three-window front of a house, which I had thought was specifically Makassarese, is also found on Buginese houses in the mountains, for example in Soppeng. Thus all that has happened is that the Makassarese have kept it well, while the Buginese in the coastal and other areas tend to lose it. M 342 178

On the way up to Makale, I saw plenty of Toradja, including a coffin on a platform in the yard. The platform was made of bamboo. Bohn in Paloppo and my notes on van der Veen say that this is probably the Luwu group of Sadang. And Bohn corroborates that many are descendants of slaves who were brought there. They live mainly in separate kampongs from the Buginese and there are very few mixed kampongs. They have little social contact, except trading. They practically never intermarry. M 563

On the way in I noticed that the place around Rantepao is full of niche graves. Nearly every appropriate rock face has at least one, together with an ornate door. In these rather solitary ones, however, I did not notice the tautau. M 764

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

that once in a while the military post brings in a film, but this is rare. Most of the folks do not get to see this. This is a very important item, and now I see why they seem to be so provincial. In this respect, they are behind the Buginese, who are avidly interested in the United States. S 546 177

For the sacrifice of buffaloes, all family members contribute, and for the big feast the entire kampong makes some contribution, each person with his own assessment. S 782 596 527

It is possible, they say, to tell the age of a house by its style. Papajungan demonstrated this, hitting the thing right on the nose. In order to get the age of the house he repeated a long genealogy on his fingers giving individual names. It came out to two hundred years. Every noble has a genealogy going back to the heaven people. At one time they showered down in various places like rain. The genealogies then started. Even slaves have genealogies. S 173 565 613 773

The kampongs have sections, as in Makassar and Buginese country. S 621

As for class differences, Lethe is a tomakaka, as is Palinggi. They are high. I gather that Papajungan is also high. He said that in the old days there were plenty of wars. His father, for example, fought against the Sangalla puang. He does not believe the story that the puang could stop a war by appearing (but maybe this is only in the Makale area). He said there was little dancing or music here, and saw a difference when we talked about Java and Bali. He said that they dance and sing at feasts, but that there is not much to it. I asked about the recitation of the old man (tominaa, priest, and not slave) at the maruk feast which I saw. He said that he would be asking the buffalo favors. Thus it seems that the buffalo to be sacrificed is a kind of messenger. S 565 S 535 527 782 825

He said that various heavens showered down the nobles, who after descending intermarried at different places and this started things off. He said that the only incest taboos are between siblings, different generations, and between first cousins. Second cousins may marry, but a case is sometimes made out of this. Third cousins are all right. Incest causes the lack of rain, and so forth, and formerly the people caught living in such incestuous relationships were killed. But they have no exile rules or laws as in the Makassarese and Buginese areas. One case was interesting. In Kessu, only a few years ago an old woman who had been a slave in the Buginese area returned to the kampong and is still there. She had become a Mohammedan, but quickly reverted to Toradja religion. S 773 582 684

Regarding Bone: I remember that the Kepala kampong said that another class-linked house matter was that of stones under the piles. In the early days only nobles, and no other could use stones. The rest had to sink their piles in the M 342● 565

M
342 Now it is all right for others to use stones as is the case of
565 his own house. In addition, only nobles were allowed to
[304] wear gold ornaments in former days. Papajungan knew
little about tattooing although he understood what I meant.
000 He was interested in contraception and seemed impressed
with my arguments for planned families. He is a smart lad
and could get some place. He is very lively. He said that
if he had a chance he would go to the United States at once.

S
782 Animals used as offerings at feasts are: buffaloes, pigs,
231 dogs, and fowls.

In pre-war days there were perhaps two criminal cases
S
674 per year in Rantepao. Now there are hundreds. Cases
range from stealing and fraud through a number of other
types, but usually do not involve murder. (Japanese influ-
ence on demoralization?)

S
876 Regarding schools: I notice that much time in the yard is
spent standing at attention or standing in formation and in
marching. When they march here, the boys are stripped
to the waist. They march slowly with their arms swinging
as do the British guards. Could this arm swinging be
Japanese too? Anyway this is not an agreeable business.
What is the use of it?

S
764 Regarding the graves: Papajungan said that the coffins in
565 the cleft are of the people who are too poor to have a niche
556 made for them. These coffins may belong even to nobles.
Query: is van der Veen right in saying that there must be
one slave per niche? Can slaves be placed in the niches
without trouble?

As for the stones, Papajungan said that only the nobles
can use them free. Commoners and slaves may use them if
they pay a price to the nobles. But if they are poor, then
they use wooden posts only. (This may be like the feast I
saw on a distant hill near Rantepao where there were no
stones.)

S
824 On the first day of the feast in Lempo I noticed that there
were many men working at cutting palm branches. They
were used for decorations of various types.

S
241 Papajungan says that until now in most places there has
[784] been an absolute taboo against slash-and-dibble, or dry
agriculture (ladang). It is forbidden, and would ruin the wet
rice fields. But there is also a taboo against planting corn
or peanuts or anything else in a dry rice field after the
harvest. However, Papajungan says that the taboo is just
beginning to break down in the areas around the town and he
hopes that it will continue to do so as they could get more

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence
586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-
● [342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

behind where there were many houses for his many slaves. That house had horns on the gables. The sunat feast lasted six days and five buffaloes had been killed for food as well as many fowls. Many fancy cakes were served which had been left over from the feast. I saw the boy who had been cut and he is said to be thirteen, although he looked much younger. I asked about the repeated cutting, up to seven times, and Saleh said that this is usual. He looked wise at this moment, and sizing up the boy, said, "I think it isn't finished with this fellow and that he will have to be cut again!" M 881 [342] 304 565 343

I asked about the gaukang, and they agreed that the radja and the nine bate must have them. As for the others, for example the karaeng, some have them and some do not; but formerly they must all have had them. M 778 565

I asked about the charms, the djimat, and they said that there are still plenty being used in the kampong. M 751

We finally drove to the seaside where there was a bathing beach and bath houses. They say that there are many Dutch who come here and pay a fee. It is owned by the local karaeng. M 529

I had a talk with Emanuel, a student of van Voll, and ter Haar's former assistant. He looked like an Indo [i.e., Eurasian]. He is trying to get through a uniform marriage law for Christians in all of East Indonesia. He admitted that this is a difficult task because the families are so often mixed, and the settlement of property is likewise very confused. 000

I asked Emanuel about the divorce pronouncement by a man. He agreed that it was normal for a man to say it three times in order for it to become a full divorce. If it is said only once or twice the couple can remarry, but if it has been said three times it is final. He said, however, that there are two other forms in Indonesia (he said that ter Haar mentioned this). One form is when a woman gets a man to agree to give talak by offering him a settlement. This is in line with true Mohammedan law. The other kind is peculiar to Indonesia. It occurs when a woman complains to the judge that she has offered a man settlement for the requested talak, but the man has refused. The man is then called to the judge, and if he is still unwilling and all is in order, the judge himself may pronounce talak. I 586 592 C 586 592

I had a talk with engineer Resink, who is here for the Economic Affairs Department. He is an "Indo" and talks about "us" Indonesians. I get the impression he is a radical I 668

Note that the Chinese may not buy land. All of them live in the stone (cement) houses beside the leveled market place. This is known as rumah sewa and is shown on the map. It is rented out by the radja. 563 425 342

The one Toradja is a woman married to a Chinaman.

Saleh pointed out that there are many cases of commoners using the title of daeng now. However, he has ignored them in this list of names because he knows that this is merely a pretension on their part. 162 565

C. Trade and Class

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Javanese	Chinese	Total
Goldsmith	30	19	1	-	-	50
Peddler-small trader	9	32	3	-	3	47
Merchant	2	2	-	-	-	13
Leather-worker	4	39	1	4	-	48
Smith	5	3	-	-	-	8
Industry	1	2	-	-	-	3
Carpenter	1	4	-	-	-	5
Farmer	2	13	-	-	-	15
Roofer-thatcher	1	5	-	-	-	6
Coolie	-	-	-	-	-	2
Cycle-repair	2	-	-	-	-	2
Weaver	-	2	-	-	-	2
Coach-bike-shaw	1	1	-	-	-	2
Dyer	-	1	-	-	-	1
Kalker	-	1	-	-	-	1
Government	1	1	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	1
Bamboo dealer	1	-	-	-	-	1
Military	1	-	-	-	-	1
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	2
Sailor	-	4	-	-	-	4
Sandman	1	3	-	-	-	4
Teacher	-	2	-	-	-	2
Barber	-	1	-	-	-	1
Teamster	-	1	-	-	-	1
Laundryman	-	1	-	-	-	1
Unknown	2	9	-	1	-	12
None	4	11	1	-	-	16